

Diamond Jubilee **CONFEDERATION**



ONTARIO

EMPIRE DAY

MAY 23RD. 1927

Ontario Department of Education

TORONTO:

Printed and Published by the Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty
1927

4502
(26)

DIAMOND JUBILEE OF CONFEDERATION

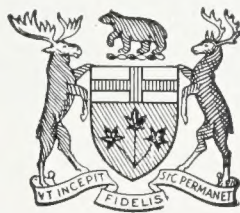
1867 - 1927

EMPIRE DAY

MONDAY

MAY 23rd

1927



ONTARIO
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

TORONTO:

Printed and Published by the Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty
1927

LIBRARY

MAR 15 1972

THE ONTARIO INSTITUTE
FOR STUDIES IN EDUCATION



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2019 with funding from
University of Toronto



HON. G. H. FERGUSON
PREMIER AND MINISTER OF EDUCATION
OF THE PROVINCE OF ONTARIO

A MESSAGE TO THE SCHOOLS

It is at once a pleasure and a duty to express my hearty good wishes to the trustees, the teachers and the pupils of the schools of Ontario for a successful celebration of Empire Day. The pleasure arises from the sense of pride and satisfaction which any Canadian must feel when he contemplates the achievements and solid progress of this great Province; and it is my duty, as Minister of Education, to convey to all of you the congratulations of the Government upon the work you have done during the year.

This is the sixtieth anniversary of the Dominion—a fitting occasion on which to acknowledge, with gratitude, the many blessings that have been bestowed upon our country by Divine Providence; a time to reflect upon the place occupied by Canada in this wonderful era of the modern world; a time to recall the patriotic and unselfish deeds of our fathers and grandfathers who by their faith and labour made possible all the liberty and security we now enjoy.

It has seemed to me, and to others, that the school ceremonies usually connected with Empire Day should also mark what is called the Diamond Jubilee of Confederation, and that the two events, so closely related to each other, should happily be joined in one commemoration. For what did the Fathers of Confederation do, sixty years ago, except to declare their attachment to the empire and to found a new state on British foundations? Canada was the first self-governing Dominion to be formed within the empire. It was our example that inspired others to follow in the same path. It was our experience that was useful in the creation of other British Dominions. The Fathers of Confederation in 1867 were invited to consider other courses of action.

The Provinces could have remained divided and gone their several ways, and some faint-hearted persons advocated that policy. They could have joined their fortunes to a foreign country. They could have formed an independent republic and cut loose from traditions and principles of government which were our most precious inheritance.

But the Fathers of Confederation had a clearer vision than that. They looked far ahead into the future and decided for complete national control along with continued devotion to the empire. It is for this we should now honour them and on no date more suitably than on Empire Day. The actual birthday of Canada comes on July 1st, but the schools are closed by that time, and therefore I earnestly invite you to remember the national triumph when you loyally and faithfully celebrate imperial unity.

We hold a vaster empire than has been!
Nigh half the race of man is subject to our King!
Nigh half the wide, wide world is ours in fee!
And where his rule comes all are free.

G. HOWARD FERGUSON,
Minister of Education.

1867—1927

On July 1st, 1927, sixty years will have elapsed since The British North America Act came into force, and the Dominion of Canada started on her wonderful career.

As it is not practicable to observe the Jubilee of Confederation at the beginning of July, it has been decided to celebrate the occasion in the schools on Empire day, Monday, May 23rd, 1927.

The accompanying programme will provide suitable material for the exercises of the day.

EMPIRE DAY, 1927

Diamond Jubilee of Canadian Confederation

PROGRAMME

FORENOON

1. Opening Exercises—Psalm 96 and the Lord's Prayer.
2. Hymn—From Ocean Unto Ocean.
3. A Geography Lesson—Canada in 1867 and in 1927. (See maps in booklet).
4. Song—The Maple Leaf.
5. Recitations or Readings—See History Manual, pages 102 to 110).
6. A School Song.
7. A History Lesson—A review of the British North America Act, noting the leaders in the Confederation movement, particularly Macdonald and Brown.
8. Selection on phonograph—Messages to the boys and girls from the King and Queen (Victor Record 245001A).
9. An Essay or Address—The Story of Confederation. (See 1927 booklet).
10. School Song.
11. Decoration of Memorial Tablet or Monument.

AFTERNOON

1. Chairman's Address.
2. School Song.
3. Greetings from the Hon. G. H. Ferguson—Read by the teacher—(see booklet).
4. Recitation—"For Country and For King." (1927 booklet.)
5. Patriotic Song or Selection on phonograph.
6. An Essay or Address—"Canada, To-day and in Prospect." (See 1927 booklet).
7. Pageant representing phases in Canadian life or history.
8. Song—"O Canada."
9. Dramatization of "The Imperial Conference, 1926." (For suggestions see 1927 booklet, page 7.)

10. Song—"The Empire is our Country" (words in 1926 booklet).
11. Recitation—"The Flag of Britain"—(see 1927 booklet).
NOTE—All pupils should stand during this recitation. One pupil should recite the poem and the others should join with him in saluting the flag at the end of each stanza.
12. God Save the King.

USEFUL SONG BOOKS FOR SCHOOLS

"The Educational Music Course," A. T. Cringan, The Canada Publishing Co., Toronto.

"School and Community Song Book," Vogt and Willan (W. J. Gage & Co., Toronto).

"Songs of the British Islands," Hadow (Anglo-Canadian Music Co., Toronto).

It is assumed that the public will be invited to these Empire Day exercises, particularly in the afternoon.

The programme as outlined in this booklet is only suggestive, and may be modified in any way to suit conditions in the various schools. As this year is the Diamond Jubilee of Confederation, geography and history lessons in relation to this important event may very profitably be taken up on and before Empire Day. In this connection pageants representing the provinces and territories of Canada, or representing certain phases in the historical and industrial development of the country might be put on.

"The Imperial Conference of 1926," an account of which is given at the end of this booklet, might be dramatized. The characters to be represented are the King and Premiers Baldwin (chairman), King, Bruce, Coates, Monroe, Hertzog; also President Cosgrave and the Maharajah of India. A girl might be chosen to represent the Empire as a whole. The premiers and other representatives should be seated around a table, and should give in turn the speeches mentioned. After all have spoken some one of them should move and another second, that an address be presented to the King, expressing their loyalty and devotion to his Majesty. When the motion is approved, Chairman Baldwin should present the address to the King. The person representing the King might appear at this time to receive the address presented to him by Premier Baldwin on behalf of the Conference and to make reply. The one representing the Empire as a whole, might be seated apart from the table and might close this number on the suggested programme by reciting or reading the last five paragraphs in the account given in this booklet.

It is hoped that all teachers will endeavour to celebrate Empire Day in a worthy and fitting manner. This booklet which contains useful material for this and future celebrations should be placed in the school library. Similar booklets issued in past years should also be in the library for reference.

FOR COUNTRY AND FOR KING

Firm and fast in the storied past
Our age-long land is set;
In our island strain have Roman and Dane,
Saxon and Norman met;
And their mingled blood in a fathomless flood
Throbs in our pulses yet.

Hopes and fears through the long, long years,
Her fortunes framed and swayed;
For through good and ill with unwavering will
Britain her freedom made,
As she faced the blows of myriad foes
Dauntless and undismayed.

True and tried, o'er the waters wide
Her Empire flag is flown,
And her charter stands through limitless lands,
Lands that are linked as one
In a purpose high, by the rallying cry—
For God and for the Throne!

Firm and fast from the storied past
To our loved land we cling;
Our unfailing faith shall stand till death,
Our loyal love we bring,
With hearts that are one, till the world be done,
For Country and for King!

THE PROVINCES BEFORE CONFEDERATION

It is difficult for the boys and girls of to-day to realize that only sixty years ago there was no Dominion; but, in its place, a group of small and comparatively unimportant British colonies. Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island were then separate, sparsely settled colonies, intent upon their own local problems, and having little intercourse with the rest of British North America. The Province of Canada was better settled and more important, but the great North-West was only a vast wilderness, still under the control of the Hudson's Bay Company. A few missionaries, traders, and settlers were there, but the whole white population did not exceed 20,000 in number. Still farther west, many thousands of miners had been attracted to British Columbia, by the discovery, in 1857, of gold in the bed of the Fraser River, but, after the first rush was over, only a few thousand remained, and the white population of the colony was barely 12,000 in 1861. It is not very surprising, therefore, that a member of the British Parliament declared a few years earlier that the whole colony was not worth £20,000.

After the union of Upper and Lower Canada in 1841, the united Province of Canada made rapid progress. The population rose from 1,100,000 in 1841 to 2,507,657 in 1861; and yet, in comparison with what they are to-day, the chief cities were still small. Montreal had only 90,323 inhabitants in 1861, Toronto 44,821, Hamilton 19,096, and London 11,555. On the other hand, many of the villages and some of the towns were far larger and more prosperous than they are now. For instance, the town of Whitby, from which a very large amount of grain and lumber was then exported by vessel to the United States, had a population of about 8,000 in 1862.

In the period just before Confederation most of the people of Canada were engaged in agriculture and lumbering. Grain was grown more extensively then than now, and many parts of central and southern Canada still contained great pine forests. Moreover, the opera-

tion of the Reciprocity Treaty created a very large and lucrative trade with the United States in the products of the farm and the forest. Much of the grain and lumber was carried by water, and as a result many an Ontario harbour on Lake Erie and Lake Ontario was then a very busy point of departure for sailing vessels and steamers engaged in this export trade. At the same time the valley of the Ottawa produced an immense quantity of squared timber, most of which was exported to Europe. On the other hand, manufacturing was confined almost exclusively to the supplying of local needs, and little attempt was made to export manufactured goods. As a result, factories and workshops were generally small and scattered. Every good-sized village had a wagon shop, a planing mill, a grist mill, a harness shop, and one or more shops for manufacturing boots and shoes.

In the fifteen years before Confederation a very wonderful development in railways took place in Canada. The first railway in the country, the sixteen-mile line between Laprairie and St. Johns, L.C., had been opened in 1836, but in 1851 there was not yet a single mile of railway track in Upper Canada. In the following years, however, development was rapid, and by 1865, 2,148½ miles were built and in use.

PRINCIPAL RAILWAYS OF CANADA IN OPERATION
JANUARY 1, 1861

(All Railways of 50 miles or more)		Date of Opening	Length in Miles
Corporate Name of Railway			
Great Western	Main line, Suspension Bridge to Windsor	Nov., 1853—Jan., 1854	229
“ “	Branch lines, Harrisburg to Galt, Galt to Guelph, Hamilton to Toronto, Komoka to Sarnia	Aug., 1854—Dec., 1858	116
Grand Trunk	Main line, Sarnia to Rivière du Loup	Spring, 1847—Nov., 1860	872
Northern	Main line, Toronto to Col- lingwood	June, 1853—Jan., 1855	95.14
Buffalo and Lake Huron	Main line, Fort Erie to Goderich	Nov., 1856—May, 1860	162.27
Ottawa and Prescott Montreal and Champlain	Dec., 1854 Montreal to Lachine, Caughnawaga to Moer's Junction, St. Lambert's, to St. Johns (old portion, 1836), St. Johns to Rouse's Point	Nov., 1847—Aug., 1852	54
			81.76

Port Hope, Lindsay and Beaverton..	Port Hope to Lindsay, Mill- brook to Peterborough..	Dec., 1857—Aug., 1858	56.50
Brockville and Ottawa.....	Brockville to Almonte, Smith's Falls to Perth..	Feb., 1859—Dec., 1860	63.54

In the maritime provinces railways had made little progress, and in 1865 New Brunswick had only 196 miles, and Nova Scotia only 93.

Even after the construction of all these railways, colonization roads, built through the bush by the government, continued to be very important for giving access to those parts of the country not to be reached by the railways, and for encouraging settlement. In 1863 there were seven of these roads in Upper Canada, and five in Lower Canada.

As would be indicated by the activity of the Canadian Government in building colonization roads, great efforts were being made to induce immigrants from Europe to settle in Canada. Government publications declared that 7,000,000 acres of crown lands were surveyed and open for sale, at from thirty cents to one dollar per acre. Each settler had to put twelve acres under cultivation within four years, build a log house twenty feet by fourteen, and reside on his lot until these conditions were fulfilled.

In 1861, 24,587 immigrants arrived in Canada, but of these a little over 10,000 proceeded to the United States. Those who remained settled in the following districts:

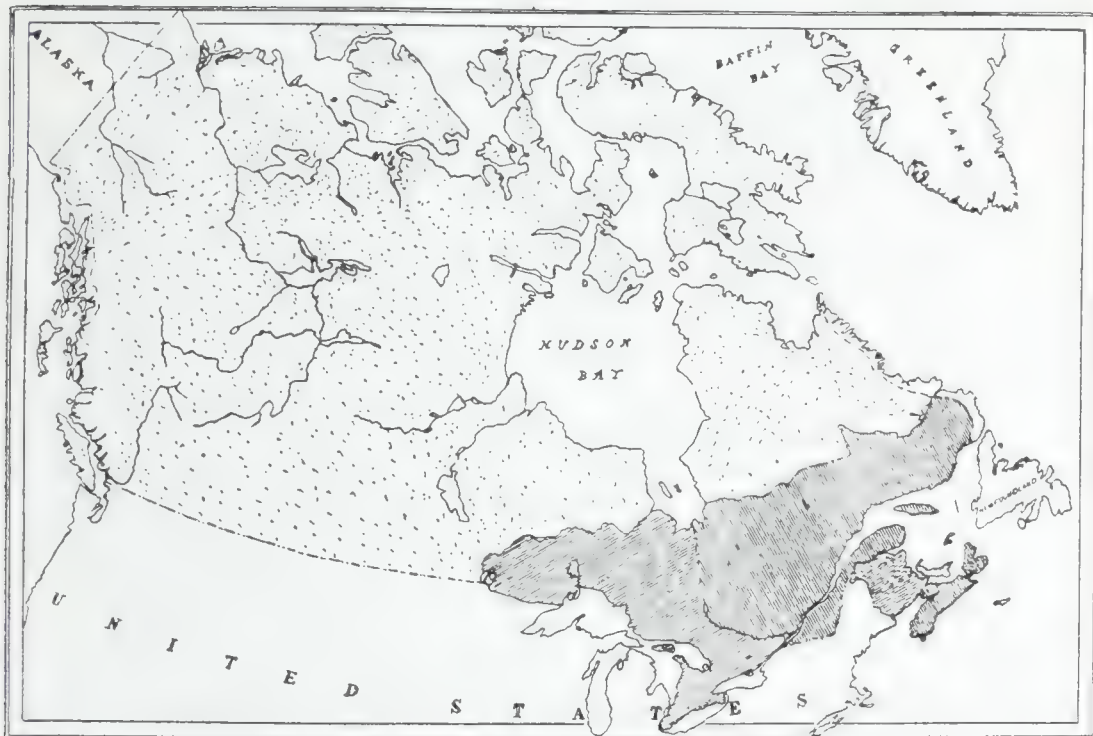
Western part of Upper Canada.....	9,500
Ottawa District.....	1,544
Eastern Canada.....	1,500
Gaspé.....	400
Unknown.....	943
	13,887

Upper and Lower Canada, in the period just before Confederation, and, indeed, for years after that, were making the same appeal to the European immigrant that is now being made by our great western provinces. Three years after Confederation, a "Handy Guide to Canada" spoke thus of this country as a field for settle-

ment: "Canada proper is now divided into two parts, called the Ontario and Quebec Provinces; but the most eligible district for British subjects is the former, or 'Upper Canada.' Exclusive of what has already been taken up by immigrants, there are fully 50,000,000 acres of a soil, which for variety and adaptability to the best purposes of agriculture, can bear comparison with any in Europe." In many parts of the country settlers were hewing homes out of the forest, and meeting many of the same difficulties that had been encountered eighty years earlier by the United Empire Loyalists.

Even in the older and better settled parts of Canada, social life was much simpler sixty years ago than it is to-day. There was less difference between the city and the country, between the rich and the poor. Departmental stores and great industrial establishments had not yet concentrated business, wealth, and population in the cities. For instance, the finest private residence in America, in 1862, was said to be the one built in Whitby by Sheriff Reynolds, and now forming a part of Whitby Ladies' College. Samuel Day, a visitor from Britain, described it thus in his *English America*: "The castellated mansion of the sheriff, with its elegant towers, imposingly situated in rising ground, is considered the largest and handsomest detached dwelling on the whole American continent; so I presume the sheriffalty is rather a lucrative, if not quite a sinecure office in these parts." In those days Canada had few millionaires, but in the older sections there was a high degree of general prosperity.

Canadians were not only prosperous at that time, but they had high hopes for the future of the country. They looked forward to the ultimate union of all the British North American colonies, and were ready to prophesy that this great new Confederation would one day rival the United States in population.



CANADA AT CONFEDERATION IN 1867
(ONTARIO, QUEBEC, NOVA SCOTIA AND NEW BRUNSWICK)



CANADA IN 1914, SHOWING THE EXTENSION OF BOUNDARIES OF QUEBEC,
ONTARIO AND MANITOBA, AS EFFECTED IN 1912

THE GEOGRAPHICAL EXPANSION OF CANADA SINCE CONFEDERATION

The Dominion of Canada, as it appears on present-day maps, is not the Dominion of Canada created in 1867 by the British North America Act. Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, when they entered Confederation, had the same area as they have to-day, but Ontario and Quebec were then much smaller than they are at present. In fact, in 1867, they had no definite northern boundaries, as the rough country to the north was little known, and the disputes about boundaries had not yet begun. However, as the areas in 1867 of Ontario and Quebec are usually given as 121,000 and 210,000 square miles, a tentative northern boundary must have been indicated, though the early maps do not attempt to mark it. Add to these areas those of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, 21,000 square miles and 28,000 square miles respectively, and we obtain the total area of the new Dominion of Canada, which was about 380,000 square miles. As Canada to-day has an area of 3,729,000 square miles, or almost ten times the area of the Dominion at Confederation, it is evident that her growth in area has quite kept pace with her development in other directions.

The chief areas of British North America, not included in the original Dominion, were Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island on the east, and British Columbia on the west; Rupert's Land, a vast territory around Hudson Bay with no distinct boundaries; the Bermudas, the British West Indies, and Honduras.

The more populous and wealthy possessions, which had been consolidated into the Dominion, formed a powerful centre toward which the more outlying possessions would naturally be attracted. Canada had always asserted a claim to the watershed of Hudson Bay, and now began to make that claim effective. This vast district had been under the control of the Hudson's Bay Company for almost two hundred years, and this Company claimed the right not only to exploit the fur trade, but also to govern the sparse population. Indeed, for

many years the factors of the Hudson's Bay Company had dispensed a rough sort of justice from Labrador to the Rocky Mountains. Immediately after Confederation, the Canadian Government endeavoured to come to terms with this powerful Company, and finally purchased for \$1,500,000 all their claims to the ownership and government of the district. In 1870 a part of this North-West Territory—as it was called—was organized into Manitoba, which thus became the first new province added to the Dominion.

British Columbia had long been a neglected colony. It was so isolated from the other parts of British North America by the mountain barrier forming its eastern boundary, and by the vast stretch of prairie beyond, that a union with Canada seemed far away. But the government of Canada had men of vision who pictured a greater Canada stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Through the influence of Sir John A. Macdonald, Mr. Anthony Musgrave was made Governor of British Columbia in 1869. He had formerly been Governor of Newfoundland, and had exerted all his influence to bring the ancient colony into the Confederation. His efforts were more successful in British Columbia, and in 1871 it became a province of the Confederation, the Canadian Government pledging itself to connect British Columbia with eastern Canada by means of a railway within ten years. This was the genesis of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

It might have been thought that Prince Edward Island would come into Confederation at once, but she held out for six years. Surrounded on three sides by Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, separated from these provinces only by Northumberland Strait, and inhabited by the same race, she was bound soon to enter the Confederation. As Canada offered her generous terms in 1873, when financial assistance was needed, she joined the Dominion as the last province to enter from without.

With the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway, a new era dawned in Western Canada. Population poured in to cultivate the fertile land of the prairies, and

by 1905 the development had advanced so far that the Dominion Government under Sir Wilfrid Laurier formed two new provinces out of the parts of the North-West Territory which lay between Manitoba and British Columbia. These were called Alberta and Saskatchewan. Thus was completed the chain of provinces from the Atlantic to the Pacific. One further change is worthy of mention. In 1912 the boundaries of Manitoba, Ontario, and Quebec were greatly extended to the north.

Only Newfoundland, of all the colonies adjoining the Dominion of Canada, has remained out of Confederation. Several times Canada has endeavoured to woo the ancient colony with generous terms, but up to the present these have always been rejected. As the soldiers of Canada and Newfoundland fought side by side in France, perhaps a new bond may be produced which will bring the two together. In fact, the Great War has developed such a bond of union among the parts of the Empire that it is not too much to hope and expect that soon the Dominion of Canada will include not only Newfoundland, but also the Bermudas and the British West Indies. Thus all the parts of British North America would be consolidated into one of the great democracies forming the British Empire.

CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH LED TO CONFEDERATION

The idea of Confederation took vague and indistinct form as long ago as the close of the American Revolution. As George III and his ministers contemplated what they gloomily called "the ruins of a once respectable Empire," the more far-seeing among them began to cast about for a means of consolidating what was left. Foremost among these was Lord Dorchester, better known to Canadians as Guy Carleton. He and his Chief-Justice, William Smith, a Loyalist refugee from New York, were firmly of the opinion that, to avoid a repetition of such a catastrophe as the American Revolution, it was advisable to establish a general government for all the British

dominions in North America. A letter from Mr. Smith to Lord Dorchester contains the striking prophecy that the "new nation about to be created would be a source of strength to Great Britain." The British Government, through Lord Grenville, however, expressed the opinion that such a general legislature for British possessions in America was open to too many objections, and thus the first proposal for Confederation was definitely set aside.

The war of 1812 was the next event which emphasized the defenceless position of Upper and Lower Canada. Nor did the common danger serve to unite them. From 1814 on, they quarrelled bitterly over the division of the revenues, and so strained did the relations become that in 1822 the Imperial Government introduced a Bill of Union; but it was regarded so coldly by both provinces that it was dropped. In 1824 Mr. William Lyon Mackenzie wrote to Mr. Canning, pointing out that a properly modelled central government would be in the interests both of Britain and of Canada. But Mackenzie, instead of throwing all his splendid powers into this work, hurt Confederation by his mad scheme of armed rebellion. Then came Lord Durham, who reported that all the best minds of the provinces were anxious for union, but he, too, erred when he suggested that one of the objects of Confederation was to absorb the French-Canadian race into the prevailing British type. The Act of Union, passed in 1840, again set aside Confederation for twenty years, and was far from a satisfactory solution of the difficulties.

The obstacles in the way of a federal union of the British dominions in America must certainly have appeared well-nigh insurmountable, even to the most daring statesman. Chief of these, perhaps, was the great distance and lack of communication between Canada and the Maritime Provinces, and, indeed, between Upper and Lower Canada. The city of Quebec was practically as far from Toronto as Ottawa is from Vancouver to-day. Sir Richard Cartwright tells of a train which took four days to go from Prescott to Ottawa. Each Province had its own tariff, code of laws, postal

regulations, and even currency, which all added to the difficulty of promoting friendship and commerce. In both Canadas politics were bitter and personal. French Canada naturally dreaded a union which would be overwhelmingly British. Upper Canada was divided between "Grits" and "Tories," who could not see alike on any single question. The people of the three Maritime Provinces were jealous of the preponderating strength of the Canadas. Another deterrent was the case of the United States. Their much vaunted federation, whose perfections had been shouted across the border for eighty years, was torn asunder by the civil war (1861-1865), and seemed likely for a time to break down completely. Then, too, many British statesmen looked askance at a union of the Canadas. Had not such a union of the American colonies been a prelude to secession from the Mother Country? And so a dread of a similar result in the case of the colonies which still remained made them wish to keep the Canadas separate. Finally, other statesmen believed that Canada would never "pay," and should be encouraged, or at least permitted, to cut loose from the Mother Country.

In spite of all these difficulties the belief had formed and developed in the minds of far-sighted Canadian statesmen that some form of federal union was essential if Canada was ever to become the great nation which her geographical position and natural wealth warranted. Many of the difficulties in the way of union were removed or lessened by time. In the early sixties, steamships began to cross the Atlantic regularly and to ply on the lakes and rivers; the Grand Trunk Railway was pushed right through the two Canadas; the Intercolonial Railway from Quebec to the sea through the Maritime Provinces was projected and would give Canada a winter port on her own territory. But the expense of constructing the road was too great unless the provinces united their resources. Then there was the case of the United States, which furnished an argument for, as well as against, federation. In 1865 the Union triumphed. Men saw how, from the time the States

had united, their wealth and population had doubled and trebled in a way little short of marvellous. Might not a similar result follow in the case of British North America? The American Civil War, too, had stirred afresh the old ill-feeling between the United States and Britain. The North accused her of conniving at privateers in the Southern interests. Disbanded soldiers under Fenian auspices made raids into Canada, causing her some uneasiness and great expense. The United States and Britain were on the brink of war, and union was necessary for efficient defence of the country. The United States refused to renew the Reciprocity Treaty of 1865, thinking thus to bankrupt Canada and force her into annexation. Thus the necessity of military defence and of finding new markets made for union. In 1864 the three Maritime Provinces formally considered a union at a conference held in Charlottetown. To this Canada was permitted to send delegates, and the Maritime union fell through automatically when the two big Canadas proposed a genera' Confederation.

But the immediate cause of Confederation was the chaotic condition of the government of the Canadas. By the Act of Union each Province had forty-two members in the Legislative Assembly. At first what was known as the Double Majority Principle had been adopted; that is, any measure affecting one of the provinces particularly had to receive a majority not only of the whole house, but of the members from that province. While this was a common-sense idea, it was found to be unworkable, and was frankly abandoned by the Hon. John A. Macdonald. Another cause of trouble was the question of "Representation by Population." The census of 1861 revealed the fact that Upper Canada had a larger population than Lower Canada, and the former began to clamour for larger representation in the Assembly. Lower Canada protested, and the result was a dead-lock. The wheels of Government refused to go; ministry followed ministry, each with no better success than its predecessor. There were sixteen Cabinets between 1841 and 1864—one, led by the Hon. George

Brown, holding office for two days. Seeing the absurdity of such backing and filling, Mr. Brown suggested, in 1864, that the opportunity be seized of settling forever the difficulties between the two provinces. A coalition government was formed, with the object of forming a confederation of all British North America, if possible, or, at any rate of the two Canadas.

John A. Macdonald, the Conservative leader in the united Parliament of the Canadas, was the man who was mainly instrumental in bringing about this happy consummation. He has been likened to Lord Beaconsfield for his foresight, tact, and skill in managing men, and, oddly enough, they were much alike in appearance. He was ably assisted in Upper Canada by the Hon. George Brown, who disliked and mistrusted Macdonald intensely, and yet, to his undying credit, he forgot his personal feelings for the sake of the cause that was dear to him, and did as much as any one to bring about Confederation. Lower Canada was swung into line, and held there by an enlightened French-Canadian statesman, Sir George E. Cartier. The Maritime Provinces had to be placated, and their natural dread of being swamped allayed. In Nova Scotia the most prominent statesman was Joseph Howe, who had almost single-handed won responsible government for his province. He blew hot and cold, and finally became a bitter opponent of the Union. But a young leader, Mr. Charles Tupper, by skilful management, won his province to the cause. With less difficulty Sir Leonard Tilley brought in New Brunswick, while Prince Edward Island definitely decided to stay out.

The final step was taken when a conference was held in 1866 in London, between British and Canadian statesmen. The result of their work was the British North America Act, which passed the British House practically unopposed, and came into force July 1st, 1867.

The Act provided that Canada (Upper and Lower), Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick should be united under one federal government, but that each should manage its

purely local affairs. The united country was to be called the Dominion of Canada, and henceforth Upper and Lower Canada were to be known as Ontario and Quebec. It is interesting to note that the first draft of the Bill calls the country the "Kingdom of Canada." This did not mean an independent kingdom, but an auxiliary one, with the monarch of England at its head. The term "Dominion" was substituted, lest, forsooth, the word "kingdom" might offend the Republican susceptibilities of our American neighbours! Many names were suggested for our country, some of them unsuitable, such as New Britain, Laurentia, Acadia, Cabotia and Ursalia.

A Governor-General to represent the sovereign of Great Britain was to be appointed for five years. Each province was to have a Lieutenant-Governor appointed by the Governor-General-in-Council for five years. The functions of Governors were to call, prorogue, and dissolve parliaments, to choose councillors, to assent to measures passed by Parliament, and to exercise a general care over the interests of the country.

The real governing power was left to the councillors, whom the Governor or Lieutenant-Governor should choose from the party in majority in the House of Commons or Assembly. This, of course, is the principle of responsible government. The first Dominion Ministry was as follows:

Sir John A. Macdonald.....	Prime Minister and Minister of Justice.
A. J. F. Blair.....	President of the Privy Council.
H. L. Langevin.....	Secretary of State for Canada.
A. T. Galt.....	Minister of Finance.
Wm. McDougall.....	Minister of Public Works.
Alex. Campbell.....	Postmaster-General.
Jean C. Chapais.....	Minister of Agriculture.
Sir George E. Cartier.....	Minister of Militia.
Sir Leonard Tilley.....	Minister of Customs.
Wm. P. Howland.....	Minister of Inland Revenue.
Peter Mitchell.....	Minister of Marine and Fisheries.
Adams G. Archibald.....	Secretary of State for the Provinces.
Edward Kenny.....	Receiver-General.

The Dominion Parliament was to consist of two houses, the Senate and the House of Commons. The Senate was to have 72 members: 24 from Ontario,

24 from Quebec, and 24 from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick combined. The senators were to be appointed for life by the Governor-General. A senator must be at least thirty years of age, and must be possessed of at least \$4,000 worth of property. The Senate's functions are identical with those of the British House of Lords prior to 1911. The House of Commons was to be elected by the people. With respect to its membership, the principle of representation by population was adopted. Quebec was taken as the standard and given 65 members, while the numbers from the other provinces were to bear the same relation to their populations that 65 did to the population of Quebec.

The Provincial Parliaments were to be similar to that of the Dominion, except that it was left optional whether a province should or should not have a Senate. To avoid confusion, the old names, Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly were to be the official names of the provincial houses.

The duration of the Dominion Parliament was fixed at five years, that of the Provincial Parliaments at four years. All parliaments were to meet once a year.

The seat of the Dominion Government was to be Ottawa; the provincial seats were:

Ontario.....	Toronto.
Quebec.....	Quebec.
Nova Scotia.....	Halifax.
New Brunswick.....	Fredericton.

The Dominion Parliament was to have control of the general affairs of the country. Such were: regulation of trade, postal system, public debt and borrowing money on public credit, military and naval matters, navigation, fisheries, currency and coinage, banks, bankruptcy, Indian affairs, naturalization of aliens, customs, marriage and divorce, public works, railways, criminal law, commercial law, etc. The Dominion Parliament was also given power to disallow provincial Acts, but it was decided that "the course of local legislation should be interfered with as little as possible, and the power of

disallowance exercised with great caution, and only where the general welfare imperatively demanded it."

The provincial parliaments were given power over direct taxation within the province, borrowing of money on provincial credit, management of public lands, timber, etc., licenses, public works within the province, civil and property rights, provincial courts, prisons and imprisonment, enforcement of the law of the province, education, municipal institutions, and generally of all matters of a local or private nature within the province.

Other important provisions of the Act were:

There should be absolutely free trade between the provinces of Canada. Money bills must originate in the House of Commons. In parliamentary debates either the English or French language might be used, and proceedings must be recorded in both. The construction of the Intercolonial Railway was to be commenced within six months. It was also provided that other provinces might be admitted at any time.

It is often said that our constitution is a direct copy of that of the United States. This is untrue in some very important respects. In the United States the central government receives its power from the "Sovereign States" within clearly defined limits. Everything which the states did not specifically part with at the outset, is jealously guarded. Thus, theoretically, it is a very slender thread which binds a state to the union, and it was largely this centrifugal force which caused the American Civil War. The framers of the British North America Act took warning from the weak points in the American scheme. The provinces ceded all their powers to the Crown, and received back such measures of self-government as their representatives had agreed upon as desirable. That is, the United States system works from below, up; ours, from above, down. Again, with us, judges are not elected by popular vote as in the United States, but are appointed by the Governor-in-Council for life, and thus are not dependent "on the caprice of the people of a province for their nomination and retention in office."

It is enough to say that Confederation has fulfilled the expectations of its most sanguine advocates. The Act stands to-day as on July 1st, 1867, except that several new provinces have been admitted—an added proof of the advantages of union.

THE FLAG OF BRITAIN

Flag of Britain, proudly waving, over many distant seas;
Flag of Britain, boldly braving blinding fog and adverse
breeze.

We salute thee, and we pray, bless, O God, our land to-day.

Flag of Britain! Wheresoever thy bright colours are outspread;
Slavery must cease for ever, light and freedom reign instead.
We salute thee, and we pray, bless, O God, our land to-day.

Flag of Britain! 'Mid the nations, may it ever speak of peace,
And proclaim, to farthest nations, all unworthy strife must
cease.

We salute it, and we pray, bless, O God, our land to-day.

But if duty sternly need it, freely let it be unfurled.
Winds of heaven then may speed it to each quarter of the world.
We salute it, and we pray, bless, O God, our land to-day.

Love of it, across the waters passing with electric thrill,
Binds our distant sons and daughters heart to heart with Britain
still.

We salute it, and we pray, bless, O God, our land to-day.

Regions East and West united, all our Empire knit in one;
By right loyal hearts defended, let it wave beneath the sun.
We salute it, and we pray, bless, O God, our land to-day.

—E. A. WALKER.

At the words "We salute," the hand should be raised in the attitude of salute. At the words, "And we pray," the head should be bowed, still retaining the hand at the salute. It is desirable that the Union Jack should be raised during the singing or the recitation of the song.



LEADERS OF CONFEDERATION

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD

There were giants in those Confederation days. There were, to mention a few, Brown and Cartier, Galt and Howe, Mowat and McDougall, Tilley, Tupper and McGee. Amid these giants of politics stands John Alexander Macdonald, subject of this sketch, who in course of time, by reason of his great gifts, became the foremost man in Canada. That this is no mere figure of speech, but sober fact, the history of his time and the tributes of his contemporaries offer convincing testimony. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, speaking as leader of the Opposition from his place in Parliament, on the occasion of Sir John A. Macdonald's death in 1891, expressed this aptly. "It may be said without any exaggeration whatever, that the life of Sir John Macdonald, from the date he entered Parliament, is the history of Canada, for he was connected and associated with all the events, all the facts, which brought Canada from the position it then occupied—the position of two small provinces—to the present state of development which Canada has reached. He, who is no more, was in many respects Canada's most illustrious son, and in every sense Canada's foremost citizen and statesman." When we consider the remarkable extent and character of his career in Parliament and remember the stirring times in which he lived, times marked with furious political passions and fraught with destiny for Canada, we can understand how hard it is for Canadian historians of the present day, not yet far removed from his own, to give an impartial estimate of his work, or view him apart from that atmosphere of adulation on the one hand or hostility on the other which naturally surrounds such a great party leader. For he was both the best loved and also the best abused man of his day. His parliamentary career, in respect of both duration and distinction, is almost without parallel in the history of democracies. He entered Parliament in 1844 and remained there until his death in 1891, an unbroken stretch of forty-seven years; and during all that time, except for

the life of one Parliament only, he sat for the same constituency of Kingston for which he was first elected. Moreover, within three years after his first election he was called to a place in the Conservative government of the day, became the chief means of holding that party together during the six years of its unpopularity which followed defeat in 1848, was the prime mover of the coalition or fusion with the moderate Liberals in 1854 out of which grew the Liberal-Conservative party, attained the position of premier in 1857, was recognized as the guiding spirit in the coalition of parties that made Confederation possible, bore a leading part in the conferences that framed the British North America Act, was knighted for his services, and invited to form the first cabinet after Confederation as the first Prime Minister of the Dominion of Canada. This office of premier, Sir John A. Macdonald continued to hold, with one interruption of five years, from Confederation in 1867 to the time of his death in 1891.

Right at the outset of his political life, highly controversial issues were dividing the public mind. Echoes of the "family compact" troubles and the "rebellion of '37" were still to be heard. Though he had attached himself to the Conservative party, he was never wholly in sympathy with the Tory ideas of the "family compact" school. Rebellion, however, he could not tolerate, and he had himself shouldered a musket in 1837. He used to tell humourously how wearied he became with the first day's march and how relieved he was that the affair was so soon over. The sense of loyalty was a compelling motive with him from first to last. His first address to his constituents at Kingston contained the sentence: "I, therefore, need scarcely state my firm belief that the prosperity of Canada depends upon its permanent connection with the Mother Country, and that I shall resist to the utmost any attempt which may tend to weaken that union." So also his last manifesto to the wider constituency of the Dominion, contained the famous phrase: "A British subject I was born, a British subject I will die." As his wife, Baroness Mac-

donald, expressed it in an article of reminiscences written six years after his death, "This fixed idea of a United Empire was his guiding star and inspiration." Accordingly, when some members of his party, in the heat of indignation over the Rebellion Losses Bill in 1849, which was construed as an encouragement to treason, joined in a movement that was marked by the mobbing of Lord Elgin, the Governor-General, by the burning of the Parliament Buildings in Montreal, and the issuance of an annexation manifesto, we do not find Macdonald countenancing these extremes. Though strongly opposed to the Bill, he confined himself to censuring the government for its lack of precaution against the violence it should have foreseen, and to allying himself with the British American League whose chief doctrines were permanent connection with the Mother Country, the union of all North American colonies, and the protection of home industries. Though Macdonald was no fiery apostle of reform, neither was he the uncompromising upholder of privilege. And when convinced that the people demanded the secularizing of clergy reserves in Ontario and the abolition of seigniorial tenure in Quebec, he took an active part in the coalition of moderates from both parties, by means of which a reasonable solution of these vexed questions was evolved. The ten years of troubled politics preceding 1864 served to prove the Act of Union between the two Canadas unworkable. It was the period of changing party alignments, of race and creed animosities, of political intrigues, of dubious majorities, and the sudden downfall of governments. The short administration of Brown and Dorion lasted scarce forty-eight hours. In the last three years of the period there were two general elections and four changes of government. In this period Macdonald was sometimes premier, sometimes associate premier, and sometimes out of office. In fact, in one case, he changed offices over night. That was in 1855, on the occasion of the "double shuffle" between Macdonald and Cartier, "that altogether too clever trick," as Parkin has called it, by which "they avoided the expense and uncertainty

of an election." During this period, too, he encountered his bitterest opponent in the redoubtable George Brown, and found his staunchest supporter in the courageous Cartier. Brown, with his propaganda of "Representation by Population," had Ontario behind him, and Cartier prevailed in Quebec. Nevertheless John A. Macdonald was the most influential figure in the House. And it was perhaps with reference to the qualities of political skill, which the maintenance of this ascendancy rendered necessary, that he was wont to say in later life that his greatest triumphs were won before Confederation.

The vivid portrait of him at this period given by his biographer, Sir Joseph Pope, is worth reproducing:

"Without pretension to oratory in the strict sense of the word, the intimate knowledge of public affairs, joined to the keen powers of argument, humour, and sarcasm, the ready wit, the wealth of illustration and brilliant repartee, gave to his speeches, set off as they were by a striking presence and singularly persuasive style, a potency which was well nigh irresistible. Those of us who knew Sir John Macdonald only when his voice had grown weak, his figure had become stooped, his hair thin and gray and his face seamed with lines of anxious care, and remember the power which under these disadvantages of age he exercised over the minds and hearts of men, can well understand how it came to pass that, in the days of his physical prime, he inspired, not merely his followers, with a devotion which is almost without parallel in political annals, but drew to his side first one and then another of his opponents, until he could truly say at the end of his days that he had the proud satisfaction of knowing that almost every leading man who had begun political life as his opponent ended by being his colleague and friend."

Worth quoting also is the acute estimate of another biographer, Sir George Parkin, on the effect of this period upon his future:

"On Macdonald the influence of this period was for both good and evil. It increased in him that laxity of political methods noted by Sir Alexander Campbell; it led him to think 'fighting fire with fire' a venial political sin; but it also brought out to the full his marvellous adroitness, his power of managing men and shaping coalitions. The skill with which he guided the tangled negotiations from 1864 to 1867 was won in the conflict of the previous ten years."

Macdonald had apparently begun to weary of the futile turmoil of politics and was contemplating the resumption of his profession of law, when the dead-lock resulting from the defeat of the Tache-Macdonald

ministry in 1864 was unexpectedly solved by the historic offer of support by George Brown, a noble and courageous act, on the understanding that a scheme of federal union should be prepared. The vision of a confederation of British North America was not new to public men; and in particular to Joseph Howe, "The Tribune of Nova Scotia," and Alexander Galt had strongly advocated the idea. Macdonald himself had subscribed to it as one of the objects of the British American League in 1849, and the ideal had long been cherished in his mind. But he was now slower than the impetuous Brown to undertake the carrying out of a project whose difficulties he foresaw. But when, after consultation with Cartier and his Quebec associates, he consented to a coalition of forces for this purpose, he turned out to be the very man upon whose steadfastness, ability, and diplomatic skill, the successful issue of the proposal most depended. So that, as one writer has put it, though John A. Macdonald was only one of the fathers of Confederation, it was chiefly through his fostering care that the tender infant became a vigorous child. He showed his customary spirit of compromise in the conference at Quebec, by withdrawing his own cherished plan of "legislative union," in which the only parliament would be the general one for the united provinces, in favour of a "federal union," in which each province was also to have its own local government. He showed admirable patience and courage in the crucial years of '65 and '66, when the withdrawal of Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland, the disaffection of the Maritime Provinces, and the withdrawal of Brown from the government, threatened to disrupt the scheme. Fortunately he had the powerful aid of Tilley in New Brunswick; Tupper in Nova Scotia was resolutely combatting the influential Howe, who had now become the champion of the malcontents; while Cartier, with the potent aid of his Church, was dauntlessly fighting the battle for Confederation in Quebec. In Ontario, too, Brown continued to give loyal support to the movement, though he had left the government. Nowhere were Macdonald's powers better shown than

in the conference of the four provinces with the Home Government at Westminster, where the British North America Act was framed.

A record of this is given by Sir F. Rogers (afterwards Lord Blatchford), the under-secretary of state for the colonies at the time: "Macdonald was the ruling genius and spokesman, and I was greatly struck by his power of management and adroitness. He stated and argued the case with cool, ready fluency, while at the same time you saw that every word was measured, and that while he was making for a point ahead, he was never for a moment unconscious of the rocks among which he had to steer."

What most appealed to Macdonald in Confederation was its national and imperial possibilities. He saw in it the opportunity of building "a nation, a subordinate but still a powerful people, to stand by Britain in North America, in peace or in war." And now, sixty years afterward, with the great deeds of Canadians on the battle-fields of France as recent history, how can we withhold admiration of Macdonald's foresight? He lamented that the British government failed to recognize Confederation as an epoch in the history of the Empire, and to dignify United Canada with the title of kingdom.

It was surely this clearness of vision, this courageous optimism, this steadfast belief in the future of Canada and the Empire, that inspired Macdonald to embark upon the notable enterprises that followed his assumption of the reins of government as Canada's first premier. It was the recognition of this quality that had much to do with the long lease of power bestowed upon him by the people of Canada. And it is this quality which most commends him to Canadians and Britons of this generation, and will give him an enduring place among national and imperial statesmen.

The delicate task of setting in motion the machinery of the new government was accomplished by Sir John with consummate skill. Examples of his skill were to be seen in the coalition Liberal-Conservative government, in

the selection of the independent Liberal, Sandfield Macdonald, to form a government in Ontario, and of the "patriote" Chaveau in Quebec, the reconciling of Nova Scotia by "better terms," and the final winning over of Howe. Caution was the watchword with Prince Edward Island and boldness with British Columbia. The apparently audacious promise of a railway from the Pacific to the Atlantic within ten years furnished a political issue for the parties, which soon became definitely aligned as Conservatives and Reformers. The purchasing of the great north-west from the Hudson's Bay Company was also successfully accomplished. But the creation of the Province of Manitoba, left to the management of subordinates, was attended with such blunderings that a military expedition became necessary to quell the "Riel" rebellion. The strain of these troubles brought on Macdonald a very serious illness, which deprived the country of his services for five months. Only the devoted nursing of his wife brought him through. This same firebrand, Riel, returned in 1884 to head another half-breed revolt, and his subsequent execution, while acclaimed by English-speaking Canada, alienated from Macdonald much French-Canadian sentiment. One of the most difficult positions in which Sir John ever found himself was when he was appointed a member of the Imperial Commission in 1871, to settle with the United States matters of dispute between Great Britain and that country. He felt that, in the desire for peace, Canadian interests might be sacrificed, and that he would be the scapegoat in Canada. Both his fears were realized. But it speaks volumes for his courage that he consented to act, and for his influence in Canada that he succeeded in having Parliament ratify the Treaty of Washington. The subsequent Halifax Commission went far to assuage the wounded feelings of Canada. Sir John's speech in Parliament on the Washington Treaty was one of his best efforts. It is said that the President of the United States remarked that "our fellows thought they had diplomatic children to deal with, but Sir John Macdonald euchred them all."

But from the next difficult situation Macdonald could not so easily extricate himself. We refer to the situation created by what is called "Pacific Scandal." Among other reasons, the failure of the Washington Treaty to deal with the Fenian claims and the mismanagement of affairs in the north-west, had made uncertain the return of the government in the elections of 1872. However, the majority, though reduced, was sufficient, and the business of the railway was being considered, when suddenly came the charge of a corrupt bargain between the government and the promoting company. Though the contribution to the party funds was admitted, yet Sir John always repudiated any personal bargain. "These hands," he said, "are clean." Notwithstanding a fervid personal appeal, the feeling of the House set against the transaction, and the verdict of the country was also unfavourable. Without doubt Sir John was quite sincere in his belief that the best interests of Canada and Confederation depended on the continuance of his policy, "till the gristle," as he expressed it, "had settled into bone." Without doubt, also, election corruption has not been confined to one party in Canada. But one may be permitted to regret that a statesman of his high patriotic ideals regarding the welfare of Canada and the Empire did not also lend his commanding influence in a greater degree to the repression of the reprehensible campaign methods of that day. One quality that always commended him to the people was his frankness and absence of hypocrisy. He freely acknowledged that "he took men as he found them." To one follower who complained of the calibre of some of his government associates, he said, "Give me better wood and I will give you a better cabinet." His inclination to play upon the foibles of men, as well as to utilize their strength, sometimes took an amusing turn. When a certain governor-general, who was accompanied by Sir John, made a speech in Greek on the occasion of a university convocation, the newspaper report next day referred to the excellence of the governor's accent and idiom. "Where did the reporter get that?" said a friend

to Sir John. "Why, from myself," replied Sir John. "But you do not know Greek." "No," said Sir John, "but I know *men*."

Having a picturesque personality and a fondness for anecdote, about him have gathered as many stories as about Abraham Lincoln, and they serve to illustrate not merely his humour but his genuine kindliness of heart. On account of the fact that the lives of our own public men have not, until recently, been available in attractive form for the study of Canadian youth, we have been made more familiar with the early struggles of Lincoln and Garfield as examples of men who "from low estate have grown to greatness." But youth may learn this lesson equally well and more patriotically from the early life of Sir John A. Macdonald. For his youth had none of the advantages of family riches, high birth, or great connections, and he owed his success to his own exertions. His father emigrated from Glasgow in 1820 when John was five, and lived at Kingston and other places in the Bay of Quinte neighbourhood during John's boyhood. He was never a successful pioneer and it was the mother who "kept the family together," and instilled into this lad of promise those habits of industry, which were later to prove of such value. The father died young; but the mother lived to the age of eighty-five and was ever the object of her distinguished son's tender care. "I had no youth," Sir John used to say sadly, referring to the fact that at the age of fifteen, after five years of school at Kingston, he began to work in a law office. It is sufficient proof of his energy and ability that he was called to the bar in six years, and during the eight years preceding his first election, had worked up a considerable and growing practice. A coincidence worthy of note is that two of the first students in his office were Oliver Mowat and Alexander Campbell, both destined, like himself, to achieve distinction in politics and to be knighted by their sovereign. Sir Oliver Mowat recalled in later life that John Macdonald was as popular with boys as he afterwards became with men.

Predictions were freely made that the disaster of 1873, when he resigned office owing to the Pacific Scandal, was to mean the "finish" of Macdonald's career. But called by their insistence to lead the loyal remnant of his party in Opposition, he displayed a courage and cheerfulness that won respect; and confident in his own powers of future usefulness, he waited on events. Nor had he to wait long. The timid policy of the government on railway development, the absence of popular leadership, and the commercial crisis gave him his opportunity. The policy of protection had been long in his mind. As with Confederation, he did not now adopt it impetuously, but having once taken it up, he embarked upon an enthusiastic campaign that carried all before it. He shrewdly fostered the national sentiment to which it appealed, and in a series of political picnics painted in lively colours the revival of prosperity and the "tall chimneys" which would follow its adoption. He was well aware of his supremacy as a campaigner and he had able support. Though not an orator, he had the gift of getting quickly to the pith of any subject and of expounding it in clear and simple language. But he often left to lieutenants the more serious exposition of the subject, doubtless recognizing that, as Parkin, one of his biographers, has expressed it, "his winning personality, his natural socialability, his ready wit, his marvellous power of remembering faces, were far more valuable assets than his speeches. He had the great art of winning friends, and his own early experience made it easy for him to have a sympathetic understanding of the humble. Authentic instances are recorded of his recognizing and naming a chance acquaintance after the lapse of forty years.

His long lease of power from this election in 1878 to his death in 1891 cannot be explained merely by the personal devotion of his followers, unparalleled though that was, or by his powers of political strategy, which were acknowledged as consummate. The people of Canada must have also preferred his chief policies as more nearly representing their national sentiment. The policy of protection is still the national policy. The

Canadian Pacific Railway is everywhere regarded as a great national asset. These stand as monuments of his constructive genius and far-sighted leadership.

There were, of course, various measures of his governments in that long period of power which were not above criticism. The management of north-west affairs in 1884 was no happier than in 1870. Sir John was never a believer in universal suffrage; and the Franchise Act of 1855, and also the "Gerrymander" of 1882, the policy of dividing the constituencies in a way favourable to his own party, met with much opposition. His "centralizing" policy brought him into a conflict with Oliver Mowat as the upholder of provincial rights—a conflict from which Macdonald did not always emerge triumphant. The "sins of omission and commission," as Sir John himself phrased it, of any democratic government which lasts too long, and the depression in trade made his re-election in 1891 doubtful. The Liberals advanced unrestricted reciprocity with the United States as a remedy for the commercial crisis. But making use of the circumstances that some of the advocates of the policy happened to be annexationists, and shrewdly recognizing the feeling of Canadians that Uncle Sam, naturally and excusably, always looks out for number one, Sir John issued his famous "manifesto of loyalty" and rode to victory for the last time on the cry of "The Old Flag, The Old Man, and The Old Policy." So loud was the call for his presence that he had felt it needful to take an active part in the winter campaign. But the strain was too great for his failing strength, and he was seized with illness soon after the meeting of the House and died on June 6, 1891. He met this last crisis with his customary calm fortitude. The outburst of grief was universal. Never had statesman inspired such affection. All Canada went into mourning. Crowds thronged to Ottawa for a last look. Queen Victoria sent a wreath of roses for the bier of her "faithful and devoted servant." A memorial service was held in Westminster Abbey, and many noble tributes were paid to his memory. Lord Rosebery, in unveiling

the bust erected to his memory in the crypt of St. Paul's Cathedral, said:

"Up above there sleep Wellington and Nelson, those lords of war who preserved the empire; below here we have effigies of Dalley and Macdonald, who did so much to preserve it. We have not, indeed, their bodies. They rest more fitly in the regions where they lived and laboured; but here to-day we consecrate their memory and their example. We know nothing of party politics in Canada on this occasion. We recognize only this, that Sir John Macdonald had grasped the central idea, that the British Empire is the greatest secular agency for good now known to mankind; that that was the secret of his success, and that he determined to die under it, and strove that Canada should live under it."

Sir John A. Macdonald had been fond of power; but he had also been devoted to service. Canada recognized this; and the words he used in his own dark hour would be accepted by his countrymen as his fitting epitaph:

"There does not exist in Canada a man who has given more of his time, more of his heart, more of his wealth, or more of his intellect and power, for the good of this Dominion of Canada."

GEORGE BROWN

In reading the history of Canada, no one can fail to be impressed by the number of Scotchmen whose character and ability have had an enormous effect on the development of our country. In the early days, the Hudson's Bay factors in the west and the Scotch pioneers in Ontario played important parts in opening up the country. Later, in railway building and industrial and commercial development, Scotch names meet us at every turn. Even more important was the work of Scotchmen in winning for Canada responsible government and the freedom of civil and religious life that we now enjoy. To none of these men do we owe more than to George Brown.

George Brown was born at Alloa, on the Forth, on November 29, 1818. His father, Peter Brown, was a merchant and builder. His mother was of Highland

blood. To this parentage he owed the sane common-sense and impulsive energy which were the foundation of his character. Both his parents were keenly interested in the religious struggle in Scotland which ended in the disruption of the established Church, and their sympathies lay with those who believed that it was the fundamental law of the Church that no pastor should be intruded on any congregation contrary to the will of the people. All the religious influence of the household through young Brown's early years was on the side of freedom, and its effect is seen in his later life, when he constantly opposed the establishment of a State Church in Canada.

He was educated at the High School and Southern Academy in Edinburgh. Even at this time signs of his future career were not lacking. "This young man," said Dr. Gunn, of the Southern Academy, "is not only endowed with high enthusiasm, but possesses the faculty of creating enthusiasm in others." While one must not attach too great significance to praise given to a school-boy, it is true that these words strike the key-note of Brown's character and reveal the source of his power over men.

In 1838 business reverses caused the Browns to emigrate to America. For four years they earned a living by contributing to *The Albion*, a weekly newspaper published in New York for British residents in the United States. In 1842 they established in New York *The British Chronicle*, a paper designed for Scottish and Presbyterian readers in the United States and Canada. An attempt to increase the Canadian circulation of this paper brought George Brown to Canada in 1843. As a result of his survey of the Canadian field, the Browns removed to Toronto, where they published *The Banner*, a weekly paper, partly religious and partly political, in both fields championing the cause of government by the people. Politics gradually occupied more and more space in its columns, until on March 5, 1844, *The Globe* was established as an avowed political paper and advocate of responsible government.

For the next seven years *The Globe* absorbed all of Brown's energies. The problem of the settlement of the Clergy Reserves, the effort to combat sectarian control of education, the battle of constitutional right against the undue interference of executive power, and the question of reciprocity with the Maritime Provinces and the United States, were the great issues of the day. In all these the growing influence of Brown through *The Globe* was exerted to obtain freedom in commerce, church and state.

In 1851 Brown was elected to Parliament for the first time. He rapidly rose to a commanding position in the assembly, entirely through his own energy and force of conviction. His industry and capacity for work were wonderful. He spoke well and on a wide range of subjects requiring careful study and mastery of facts. During this period, he obtained a hold upon the affections of the people of Upper Canada which was never lost. Even journals opposed to his political convictions paid him tribute. For instance, the *Cobourg Star* estimates his character as follows: "In George Brown we see no agitator or demagogue, but the strivings of common-sense, a sober will to attain the useful, the practical, and the needful. He has patient courage, stubborn endurance, and obstinate resistance, and desperate daring in attacking what he believes to be wrong and defending what he believes to be right. There is no cant or parade or tinsel or clap-trap about him. He takes his stand against open, palpable, tangible wrongs, against the tyranny which violates men's roofs and the intolerance which vexes their consciences. His leading principle is to reconcile progress with preservation, change with stability, the alteration of incidents with the maintenance of essentials."

We have an interesting description of Brown as he appeared at this time at a banquet given in his honour at Galt. "He was a striking figure. Standing fully six feet two inches high, with a well-proportioned body, well-balanced head, and handsome face, his appearance not only indicated much mental and physical strength,

but conveyed in a marked manner an impression of youthfulness and candour. These impressions deepened as his address proceeded, and his features grew animated and were lighted up by his fine expressive eyes."

By 1857 Brown had become the acknowledged leader of the Reform party in Upper Canada. All his efforts were directed toward finding a remedy for the evils arising from the ill-advised legislative union of Upper and Lower Canada under the Act of Union, 1841. He demanded representation by population, to give Upper Canada its just influence in the legislature. He wished to bring about the entire separation of Church and State, placing all denominations on an even footing and leaving each to support its own religious establishments from the contributions of its own people. Despite all opposition and numberless discouragements, the agitation was carried on under his leadership, until the Act of Confederation in 1867 gave the people of Ontario fair representation and complete control over local affairs.

Not only did Brown work energetically for the federation of the Canadas, but he also had the necessary breadth of view to see that all British America should be united in one great country. Speaking at a Reform convention held in 1859 to deal with the question of Confederation, he said in answer to a query whether federation was a step toward nationality: "I do place the question on grounds of nationality. I do hope there is not one Canadian in this assembly who does not look forward with high hope to the day when these northern countries shall stand out among the nations of the world as one great Confederation. What true Canadian can witness the tide of emigration now commencing to flow into the vast territories of the North-West without longing to have a share in the first settlement of that great, fertile country? Who does not feel that to us rightfully belong the right and the duty of carrying the blessings of civilization throughout those boundless regions, and making our own country the highway of traffic to the Pacific?"

In 1862 Brown sailed for Great Britain, and there had an interview with the Duke of Newcastle, in which the Canadian situation was freely discussed. While in Britain he married Miss Anne Nelson, the daughter of the well-known publisher, Thomas Nelson. This was the beginning of a most happy domestic life, lasting until his death in 1880. His wife survived him until May, 1906. On his return to Toronto, his popularity was shown by the crowd of thousands of friends waiting to welcome him at the station. In reply to a complimentary address, he said: "I have come back with strength invigorated, with new and, I trust, enlarged views, and with the most earnest desire to aid in advancing the prosperity and happiness of Canada."

In 1864 he was appointed chairman of a committee to consider the difficulties connected with the government of Canada. On June 14 he brought in a report recommending "a federative system, applied either to Canada or to the whole British North American provinces." Negotiations followed, resulting in the formation of a coalition government, in which John A. Macdonald and George Brown were the leaders. In October a conference was held at Quebec, in which a scheme of confederation was elaborated. In December Brown went to England to obtain the views of the British government, and was able to report that the scheme had given prodigious satisfaction. Largely because of his work, Confederation became a reality.

In 1867 he was defeated in South Ontario. He regarded this as an opportunity to retire from parliamentary life. He had long determined to make his farewell bow as a politician as soon as the position of the Liberal party was satisfactory. He desired to be free to write of men and things without restraint, and he realized that party leadership and the conducting of a great journal did not harmonize. He had to choose either the position of a leader in parliamentary life or that of a monitor in the public press. His own words give his preference. "In view of all the grand offices that are now talked of—governorships, premierships,

and the like—I would rather be editor of *The Globe* with the hearty confidence of the great mass of the people of Upper Canada than to have the choice of them all.”

In 1873 Brown was appointed to the Senate. There his career was a creditable one, and his effort to negotiate a Reciprocity Treaty with the United States, although unsuccessful, indicates his great capacity even in international affairs. Left comparatively free to follow his own inclinations, he plunged into farming, spending money and energy freely on the raising of fine cattle on his estate near Brantford. His farm and *The Globe* filled the last years of his life.

On March 25, 1880, he was attacked by a discharged employee named Bennett. This man entered the Senator's office in *The Globe* Building, and demanded his signature to a certificate of five years' service with *The Globe*. On being refused, he drew a pistol and fired. The shot passed through the leg, and the wound was not considered dangerous. But week after week passed without any improvement. Throughout April, Senator Brown became weaker and weaker, and finally he passed away on May 10.

It is the work done by George Brown in connection with Confederation that our interest chiefly lies. When we compare our present country, strong and united, with all the essentials of a great nation, bearing her due share of the heavy burden the great war laid upon the Empire, with the weak and scattered British provinces of sixty years ago, we realize that much of this is due to the energy, ability, and foresight of George Brown. No praise can be too great for the man or his work. His influence—and it was great—was ever exerted on the side of freedom and justice. In all things he showed himself a true man and a noble patriot. If we may not style any one man the Father of Confederation, it was Brown who made the union possible.

CANADA TO-DAY AND IN PROSPECT

The Twentieth Century is Canada's. It does not need the eye of a prophet to see that in the very near future Canada's population will be trebled or quadrupled. The temperate regions of the earth have few vacant places, the tropical practically none. Yet the people of the earth continue to increase and multiply. The southern parts of western Canada, southern Siberia, certain parts of South America, South Africa, and Australia are but sparsely peopled at present, yet all are eminently suited for settlement by white races. Population will pour into these places as air rushes into a vacuum. It cannot be prevented, for it is the law of evolving nature. And of all the countries mentioned it would seem as if Canada would be first to receive the great tides of emigration. She appears to be better prepared and better fitted to receive them. This prospective rapid development of Canada demands the careful organization and utilization of her wonderful material resources. It also obligates Canadians to see to it that only the worthy are invited to participate in the coming prosperity. The factors and conditions which will determine Canada's future will now be dispassionately brought under review.

According to the census of 1921 Canada had an area of 3,729,665 square miles, about one-third the area of the British Empire, and a population of 8,788,483. The present-day population can only be estimated, but it is about 9,500,000. Canada is truly the country of broad acres, for she has no less than 2,387,000,000 of them. But her people are few in number, less than three per square mile of land area. If Canada were as densely peopled as the British Isles, the population would be 2,000,000,000. This figure Canada will never, of course, be able to reach, because of her geographical situation, since large areas have an arctic or sub-arctic climate.

The most southerly point of Canada is in the Western Peninsula of Ontario, on the shores of Lake Erie. This

point, about 42° north latitude, is on the same parallel as Madrid and Rome. The most northerly point is on the Arctic Ocean, within a few hundred miles of the North Pole. Only a small fraction of the country lies south of the 49th parallel, which forms the southern boundary from the Pacific to the Great Lakes. From east to west along the southern boundary the country is more than 3,000 miles across. These features, combined with great variety in elevations, make for a varied climate and for varied agricultural resources.

About one-half of the population live in the cities and towns and the other half in rural communities. In Ontario 58 per cent. and in Quebec 56 per cent. of the population live in urban centres; but in the Western Provinces the larger proportion live in rural parts. Geographical conditions have caused the people to settle along the southern boundary. Vast areas in the northern parts will never contain a large population, but the discovery of Garnet and other early maturing varieties of wheat has rolled back the northern limit of agriculture in Western Canada some sixty to seventy-five miles and thus opened up a vast new empire for productive purposes. It is quite reasonable to suppose that this country could contain a population of 200,000,000.

The population in 1921 as to origin was as follows: British, 4,868,903; French, 2,452,751; German, 294,636; Hebrew, 126,196; others, 1,045,997. About 76 per cent. were born in Canada. The people of French origin are found mainly in Quebec, although French settlements are found in Western and Northern Ontario, in the Prairie Provinces, and wherever lumbering is carried on. They cling tenaciously to their religion, their language and their customs. People of British origin are found in every province. The non-English speaking immigrants have settled largely in the prairie lands of the North-West. However the foreign-born population in the West is declining and the Canadian-born is increasing.

IMMIGRATION INTO CANADA

Year	British	Other Countries	U.S.A.	Total
1905.....	65,137	36,213	44,424	145,954
1910.....	112,638	65,851	124,602	303,091
1915.....	43,276	41,734	59,779	144,789
1920.....	59,603	8,077	49,656	117,336
1925.....	53,178	42,366	15,818	111,362
1900 to 1925.....	1,528,297	1,032,975	1,462,742	4,024,014

The foregoing figures show that, for the first quarter of the present century, about 75 per cent. of the immigrants were of British stock or Americans largely of British stock. It may also be assumed that in the immediate future immigrants from the British Isles will make up a large part of Canada's newcomers. These immigrants will be desirable in many ways. The task of locating them will be a tremendous one, largely because conditions of life in Canada differ so greatly from those of the British Isles. But it is a task that Canada will have to face heroically.

RESOURCES

AGRICULTURAL.—Canada's resources may be discussed from many angles, but only a few of the more important will be touched upon. First might be mentioned the grain industry in which there has been very rapid expansion from year to year. The field crops in 1925 were valued at \$1,159,361,910. The wheat crop alone amounted to 417,000,000 bushels valued at \$465,-116,200. Canada holds the key to the food supply of the world. The reputation of her wheat on the world's market was never higher than it is to-day. While in the last ten or twelve years the world's wheat production has increased 14 per cent., Canada's has increased 106 per cent. Of all agricultural countries in the world, Canada stands first in the ratio of increase in production in recent years. While all the provinces contributed, the

greatest amount was produced in the three prairie provinces, a recognized granary of the world. Only a small part of the arable area of these provinces has yet been brought under cultivation.

The following figures from the Bureau of Statistics showing the wheat exports of Canada, compared with those of other countries are astounding. The figures refer to five of the leading wheat-exporting countries:

	Bushels
Canada.....	322,000,000
United States.....	186,000,000
Argentina.....	48,000,000
India.....	11,000,000
Australia.....	8,000,000

Dairying and the raising of livestock are important industries of Canada to-day. In 1925 the dairy production value was \$300,000,000, showing a large increase. The livestock value for that year was well over \$600,000,000.

In connection with agricultural resources a word may not be out of place respecting climate, since that is the main factor determining them. The July temperatures of the greater part of the Dominion lie between 50° F. and 70° F. The prairies have a higher, and the land bordering the Arctic Ocean, a lower range than this. A wide range of crops can thus be grown in the summer. The precipitation in the form of rain or snow is sufficient, as a rule, for the growth of annual crops. Only one district, southern Alberta, requires irrigation. The precipitation in western British Columbia is 100 inches and over, in the St. Lawrence valley from 20 to 40 inches, in Manitoba and Saskatchewan 10 to 20 inches. Fortunately the rainfall on the prairies is heaviest during the growing months of June and July.

MINERAL.—Practically every known economic mineral is to be found somewhere in the Dominion. Of some, like nickel and asbestos, Canada has practically a world monopoly. The great Laurentian plateau or pre-Cambrian U-shaped shield, occupying over half the area of Canada and stretching for 2,000 miles from the Atlantic

coast to the Mackenzie Basin, has proven to be a treasure-house of mineral wealth, particularly as regards metals. The same can be said of the mountains of British Columbia. What the future holds no man knows, but the proved mineral-bearing regions, like the Sudbury, Coablt and Porcupine areas of Ontario, indicate that the mineral wealth of Canada will prove one of her greatest assets.

MINERAL PRODUCTION OF CANADA IN 1925

Province	Total Value	Per cent. of total	Chief Minerals
Ontario.....	\$87,980,436	38.8	Gold, nickel, silver, copper, natural gas.
Brit. Columbia.	64,485,242	28.5	Lead, coal, copper, zinc, silver, gold.
Alberta.....	25,318,866	11.1	Coal, natural gas, petroleum.
Quebec.....	24,284,527	10.7	Asbestos and copper.
Nova Scotia...	17,625,612	7.8	Coal and gypsum.
Others.....	6,888,650	3.1	
Total.....	\$226,583,333	100.0	

Ontario has been the leading mining province since 1907. The output of the chief minerals for the year 1925 is noted below:

ONTARIO'S MINERAL OUTPUT IN 1925

	Value	Chief Products
Metals.....	\$62,495,472	Gold, nickel, silver, copper and cobalt.
Non-metals....	7,488,034	Natural gas, salt, gypsum, petroleum.
Structural materials.....	12,451,174	Cement, stone, lime, sand and gravel.
Clay products..	5,148,626	Brick, sewer pipe, structural and drain tile.

The importance of the metal mining industry in Ontario may be visualized by reference to a tabulation of the gross output of the principal metals:

TOTAL PRODUCTION OF CHIEF METALS IN ONTARIO

Metal	To the end of 1925	1926 (preliminary)
Silver.....	\$228,184,421	\$5,768,823
Nickel.....	213,542,357	14,374,163
Gold.....	184,492,033	30,949,689
Copper.....	72,819,550	4,828,964

COAL.—That Quebec and Ontario should be practically without coal is a great misfortune. But the substitution of hydro-electric power for steam power in these provinces somewhat mitigates the hardship. At present the two most highly developed coal-fields are situated on the sea coasts of Nova Scotia and British Columbia. For export purposes the situation of these fields could not be better. The immense coal resources of Alberta are being developed rapidly, and the lignite coals of southern Saskatchewan are utilized locally.

PEAT.—If Central Canada has no coal resources there are possibilities in utilizing peat fuel of which there are enormous reserves available in the northern parts of Ontario and Quebec. Eventually this resource may prove an important factor in the development of an extensive territory in the basin of Hudson and James Bay. Investigation of 107 peat bogs in Canada, chiefly in Ontario and Quebec, show reserves of over 198 million tons of fuel with 25 per cent. moisture content, and nearly 14 million tons of moss litter with 20 per cent. water. However, although the feasibility of producing air-dried peat using modern machinery has been demonstrated by the Peat Committee appointed jointly by the Federal and Ontario governments,

there has as yet been very little commercial exploitation of our peat resources.

METALS.—Canada produces 90 per cent. of the world's nickel. The industry dates from 1883 when nickel-copper ore was found in a rock-cut at Sudbury, Ontario, during the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Formerly, the chief outlet for nickel was in armour plate for battleships. Now peace time uses of an infinite variety have been found for this metal and its alloys. Associated with nickel in Sudbury ores are copper and platinum metals. The rich copper ore of the new Rouyn field indicates a bright future for the Province of Quebec. British Columbia for many years has been an important producer of copper.

Yukon Territory as a placer gold producer reached its peak of production in 1900 when the output was valued at \$22,275,000. British Columbia has been a steady producer of the precious metal for over seventy years. Prior to 1909 when Porcupine was discovered, Ontario had never produced half a million dollars of gold in any year. Since then, the output has grown to nearly 31 million dollars in 1926. Ontario passed the Yukon in gross output of gold in 1925 and British Columbia in 1926. Canada now occupies third position as a world gold producer, South Africa and the United States being first and second respectively.

Since the discovery of rich silver-cobalt ore at Cobalt, Ontario, in 1903 during the construction of the Timiskaming and Northern Ontario Railway, Ontario has become an important producer of these two metals. Although the output from Cobalt is declining, Gowganda and South Lorrain have become important fields. British Columbia also is a large producer of silver, chiefly from silver-lead ores.

Lead and zinc are mined principally in British Columbia. In recent years lead has been in great demand for storage batteries, cable covering, etc. Quebec and Ontario also have important deposits of these metals.

Canada has large iron ore resources but for the most part they are not high grade. The iron and steel plant at Sydney, Cape Breton, gets its iron ore from the Wabana mine near St. Johns, Newfoundland. Ontario's iron is chiefly of a grade requiring beneficiation before it is ready for the blast furnace. Similar treatment is now being given to some of the lower grade ores in the famous "lake" region (northern Minnesota and Michigan). Eventually, Ontario's ores will be utilized when high-grade deposits elsewhere near exhaustion. Meantime Ontario's pig iron and steel plants at Sault Ste. Marie and Hamilton use United States "lake" ore.

FISHERIES.—Canada has the most extensive and productive fisheries of all the countries in the world. Every square mile of her coastal or inland waters abounds in fish. The Atlantic seaboard has 5,000 miles of sea coast, the Pacific 7,000 miles, while the fresh, interior waters occupy 220,000 square miles, and are stocked with whitefish, salmon-trout, pickerel, black bass, and other excellent food fish. The principal fishing industries of the Atlantic coast are concerned with cod, lobsters, herring, sardines, and oysters. On the Pacific coast the industry is confined to halibut, herring, and whale fishing, and in the rivers to salmon. Salmon and lobsters form the bases of extensive canning industries. The value of the fisheries in 1924 was \$44,535,235, of which Nova Scotia produced $8\frac{3}{4}$ millions and British Columbia $21\frac{1}{4}$ millions. Everything points to an exceedingly bright future.

FORESTS.—Canada is also the Empire's great timber storehouse. Her forest area consisting of 1,200,000 square miles is the second largest in the world. The value in 1923 of her primary forest products was \$197,459,331. The pulp and paper industry ranks first in annual revenue and is steadily increasing. In 1924 there were 115 pulp and paper mills in this country, and the exports of pulp and paper products amounted to \$139,491,469. In 1925 Canada's production of newsprint probably exceeded that of the United States,

making Canada the world's greatest producer of news-print paper.

MANUFACTURES.—Canada in recent years has been making rapid strides as a manufacturing country. In spite of great agricultural and mineral resources about one-half of her people dwell in urban centres. Manufacturing industries are carried on more largely in Ontario and Quebec than in the other provinces. Manufacturing has passed from second to first place among the industries of this country. The following figures show the gross revenue from some of the chief industries for 1926:

Manufacturing, \$2,751,800,000; agriculture, \$1,677,520,360; forestry, \$450,000,000; mining, \$242,886,000; fishing, \$54,781,000. Canada used to be a debtor nation, that is, the value of her imports exceeded that of her exports. This state of affairs is now reversed, and the balance of trade is no longer against her. In 1925 her total trade was \$2,161,000,000, of which the imports amounted to \$890,000,000, and the exports to \$1,271,000,000, leaving a favourable trade balance of \$393,000,000.

Canada's chief customers are Great Britain and the United States, but trade within the Empire is being extended. The manufactures of Canada are varied. Agricultural implements and the manufacture of products having a close connection with the agricultural, mineral, and forest resources occupy the leading positions. As in almost every other field, Canada's future as a manufacturing country seems very bright.

TRANSPORTATION

Transportation in Canada is conducted chiefly by means of water and rail. The cold winter closes all navigation in Canada for three or four months of the year except on the Atlantic and Pacific seaboard. This is a severe handicap. Moreover, Canada's river systems for the most part drain into the Arctic Ocean or Hudson Bay, which increases the handicap still further. The

chief waterway is the St. Lawrence River and the chain of Great Lakes. The largest ocean-going ships can pass to the port of Montreal, 1,000 miles inland. Smaller vessels can pass from Montreal to the head of the Great Lakes. With the cutting of new canals and the deepening of existing ones, navigation from the mouth of the St. Lawrence almost to the foot of the Rocky Mountains should become possible. For the produce of British Columbia the new Panama Canal affords a convenient waterway to the markets of Europe. The new Welland Canal will have a depth of 25 feet, thus permitting the transportation of wheat and lumber in great vessels from Fort William to Montreal, with only one transshipment into barges at Kingston. The enlargement of the St. Lawrence canals, a difficult matter, will in time do away with this necessity for even one transshipment. The Hudson Bay route, practicable for a few months of the year, is being developed rapidly and will afford, when completed, a convenient outlet for the products of the prairie. Port Nelson is as near to Liverpool as is Montreal. The prairie rivers—the Assiniboine, the Red River, and the Saskatchewan are navigable, but the traffic upon them is somewhat local in character. With some dredging and the construction of locks they may in time become important factors in the transportation of grain.

There are two great railway systems in Canada—the Canadian National Railways and the Canadian Pacific Railway. These two systems include about 43,000 miles of railway. There are three transcontinental lines. Canada stands second among the world nations in mileage and first in proportion of mileage to population. There is one mile of railway to every 230 people. The C.N.R. system which includes 22,600 miles of railway, with some of the most famous bridges in the world, is operated by the Canadian Government. It also operates the vessels of the Canadian Merchant Marine. The C.P.R. has a mileage of 20,346. It also operates steamships on the Great Lakes as well as on the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. The original main line of the

C.P.R. was built in fulfilment of a pledge to build a railway connecting the Atlantic and the Pacific. It cost over three hundred millions and is one of the Empire's greatest railways. The Temiskaming and Northern Ontario Railway of nearly 500 miles, extending from North Bay to Cochrane and beyond, owned and operated by the Provincial Government, is also important.

THE FUTURE

What of Canada's future? Enough has perhaps been said to indicate that the opening statement of this section "The twentieth century is Canada's," is not a flight of rhetoric but the sober and literal truth. No country under the sun has such a promising future before it. But whether or not this brilliant future is realized depends wholly on present-day Canadians. None of it will be gained without hard work, none without intelligence. The application of science to industry and agriculture should employ the best brains of the community. The soil can be made more fertile, stock can be improved, natural resources such as minerals and water power utilized, and transportation difficulties overcome only through the intelligent application of scientific knowledge. The greatest natural resource of our Dominion is 2,200,000 pupils attending public and high schools and universities. The most important enterprise is that of training them for the highest efficiency of their individual lives and for citizenship. Canada's schools must remain alert to meet new conditions; the universities must be increasingly developed, especially along lines of scientific research. But above all, those ideals of liberty and justice which are peculiarly British, must be fostered in the people, or all else, material development and riches, will be largely in vain.

THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1926

Imperial conferences have been held in one form or another, for the last forty years. At these meetings representatives from various parts of the Empire discuss matters of Imperial concern. At first they were held every four or five years, but more recently they have been held every three years. The inaugural meeting of the last Conference took place in London, England, on October 19th, 1926. Mr. Baldwin, Prime Minister of Great Britain, presided and welcomed the delegates from the various self-governing Dominions of the Empire. At the close of the Conference, an address was presented to the King, expressing loyalty and devotion and the earnest hope that both the King and the Queen might long be spared to strengthen the ties of affection and devotion which unite the people of the British Empire under the Crown.

Mr. Baldwin as chairman said: "I welcome to this Conference the representatives from overseas. During the last forty years more and more important matters have been brought before successive conferences of this kind. Coupled with a continuous process of the extension of self-government there has been a continuous necessity for adapting the relations between the Government in Great Britain and the other Governments of the Empire. Through the goodwill and general agreement promoted by these conferences, the changes that have taken place have not weakened the ties of the Empire, but have contributed to its fundamental unity. Most of the problems which we must now discuss, are essentially problems of co-operation. When I consider the extent of the resources of the Empire I cannot resist the conclusion that a policy of effective co-operation among us all would produce results in the creation of wealth and of human happiness, vastly greater than any which might be achieved without such co-operation. But we can only make effective progress in that direction in the degree that our various peoples realize the

greatness of their opportunity and concentrate their purpose upon it."

The representatives of the Dominions and India then replied. Premier King of Canada spoke first. He went on to say: "In this historic room are gathered representatives from nations of the Empire owing allegiance to a common King. Such a gathering makes one realize how great an error it would be to overlook in our plans and forecasts either the differences in situation and outlook of these several nations or the deep and lasting things they share in common. A moment's reflection indicates how distinct they are in historical background, in racial composition, in economic organization and in national character. On the other hand our very presence here indicates that we share in common many great problems, many commanding opportunities, many glorious traditions, and many of our political institutions. In countless ways, in trade, in markets, in migration, one part needs and complements the other."

Premier Bruce of Australia spoke as follows: "For my part I believe that the constitutional difficulties which some may apprehend will utterly disappear as we discuss them around this table. We have been able to solve our problems in the past, and I am confident that if we have to face further problems we shall be able to find satisfactory solutions. I am certain that if at this Conference we again, as has always been done at these Conferences in the past, approach these problems with a real appreciation of the aspirations and ideals not only of Britain but of the Dominions and with a realization that we are a great Empire determined to remain united, there will be no difficulty in solving any of them."

Mr. Coates, Prime Minister of New Zealand, voiced the sentiment of that portion of the Empire in the following terms: "I think it fitting to express here the sense of sympathy which men and women of all shades of opinion in New Zealand regard the struggle of the Mother Country to overcome the difficulties that are at present and for some time past have been con-

fronting her. Many of her financial troubles are, I think, due to her desire to be scrupulously honest and honourable in the discharge of all her obligations. None can doubt the capacity of Great Britain and her people to triumph ultimately over all obstacles, but it is felt in my country that now is the time to repay some of the benefits we have received from her, and to return some portion of the assistance that she has so generously extended to us. We in New Zealand will regard it as a privilege to assist the great Mother Country in so far as our small resources will enable us to do."

Mr. Hertzog, the South African Prime Minister, stated his point of view thus: "If this Conference is to attain the success expected, it will, Sir, so far as South Africa is concerned, have to do more than simply devote its energies to economic and other practical problems of the day. These are no doubt of very great importance, but they are of vital interest mainly, if not solely, because the Empire with which they are concerned is assumed by us to constitute a relationship that will last. Now, I think, Sir, it will be generally admitted that the corner-stone of the Empire is the goodwill of those who compose it. Whether all the conditions are there to insure the continuance of that good-will and the permanence based upon it, is a question which I think we should enquire into at this Conference."

Mr. Cosgrave, President of the Executive Council of the Irish Free State, said: "I wish to thank the Prime Minister of Great Britain very sincerely for the welcome which he has extended to us on this occasion. We come here from governments widely scattered across the surface of the earth but linked together in an association such as exists amongst no other group of nations. We meet here in an atmosphere of fraternal friendship to consult one another on various problems and to endeavour to come to a clear appreciation of our several points of view upon all matters which in common affect our peoples. Hence we welcome these Conferences as a most effective means of promoting harmony and prosperity within the Empire."

Mr. Monroe, Prime Minister of Newfoundland, said: "I am simply an ordinary business man, who is very proud to be present at this Conference as the representative of Britain's oldest colony. But as we represent such a very small number of people we do not expect to have very much to say on Imperial matters. The message I would bring from Newfoundland to-day is that we are entirely satisfied with the status under which we exist and the flag under which we live. We are perfectly satisfied that the Ministers who are in charge of Great Britain's affairs to-day are fully capable of dealing with them and if their deliberations should ever bring the Empire to war we are perfectly willing to come in, feeling satisfied that we are fighting for a just cause."

The Maharajah of Burdwan spoke for the Indian delegation. In a speech full of loyalty and good-will he said: "India is proud of her place in the British Empire and there can be no question that the real India's ambition is to remain in it. I should say that if there is one feeling more than another which unites all the varying elements, all the different peoples and classes in India, it is the desire to maintain and to strengthen the bond of sentiment and loyalty which bind together the several units of the British Commonwealth. The Empire besides all else that it stands for is a link between the peoples of the East and West. Standing as it does for peace it must tend to allay racial antagonisms and to promote harmony of aim and conduct, not only within its own limits, but throughout the world at large."

At the close of the Conference the following address was presented to the King:—

"To His Majesty the King, Emperor of India: We, the Prime Ministers and representatives of the Governments of the British Empire who have taken counsel together during the last few weeks, desire before we separate to express once again our fidelity and devotion to your Majesty and her Majesty the Queen.

"We have found in all our deliberations a spirit of mutual goodwill and an earnest desire for co-operation

in promoting the prosperity of the several parts of the Empire. The foundation of our work has been the sure knowledge that to each of us, as to all your Majesty's subjects, the Crown is the abiding symbol and emblem of the unity of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

"We pray that, under Divine Providence, your Majesty may long be spared, with her Majesty the Queen, to watch over the destinies of all the nations and peoples of your Empire."

His Majesty replied:—

"I have received with great pleasure the address presented by the Prime Minister of Great Britain from the Imperial Conference, and the Queen and I warmly thank all the members of the Conference for this expression of their fidelity and devotion to the Crown. I have followed with close interest all the proceedings of the Conference, and I am convinced that its labours have afforded, not only to the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, but to the world at large, a better understanding and a clearer vision of what the British Empire means and of the ideals for which it stands.

"It has given me the utmost satisfaction during the past few weeks to greet so many of my ministers from the Dominions and the representatives of the Empire of India, and to have had the opportunity of learning personally from them something of the problems and aspirations of my peoples overseas. The Queen and I treasure recollections of our visit to those lands among the happiest experiences of our lives. We wish the members of the Conference God-speed and a safe return to their homes."

With such a desire for co-operation pervading the Conference it is not surprising to find that the results have been most gratifying. The general opinion seems to be that it has been one of the most successful events of its kind in the history of the Empire.

It might, therefore, be interesting to mention briefly just what has been accomplished. Changes have not been made but have been acknowledged. The advance is in the acknowledgement secured by unanimous

agreement. The mutual relationship of the self-governing parts composed of Great Britain and the Dominions, have been clearly defined. They are autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate to one another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

The fundamental principle is the right of each dominion to advise the Crown on all matters relating to its own affairs. Neither Great Britain nor the Dominions can be committed to the acceptance of active obligations except with the definite assent of their own government. Loyalty to the Crown, as the symbol of unity, is the golden thread that binds the Empire together. There is also a further bond in the deep and abiding faith of the citizens, in all of these far-flung dominions, in the ideals of justice, freedom and honour for which the Empire stands. Moreover, there is the firm belief that the noblest destiny of each, the highest welfare of all and the greatest blessing to the world can best be attained by the continuance of all within the Commonwealth of Nations.

It may be said that the Empire as a whole accepts with deep satisfaction the conclusions unanimously reached by its Prime Ministers. The theory of Empire has been re-stated and simplified. In the true spirit of its own history, unity has been promoted in proportion as freedom has been increased. In taking all its risks on the side of freedom, the Empire has not forgotten in what soil it is rooted. It has obeyed the law of its own growth, and so it will be preserved and consolidated for its own good and the good of the world.

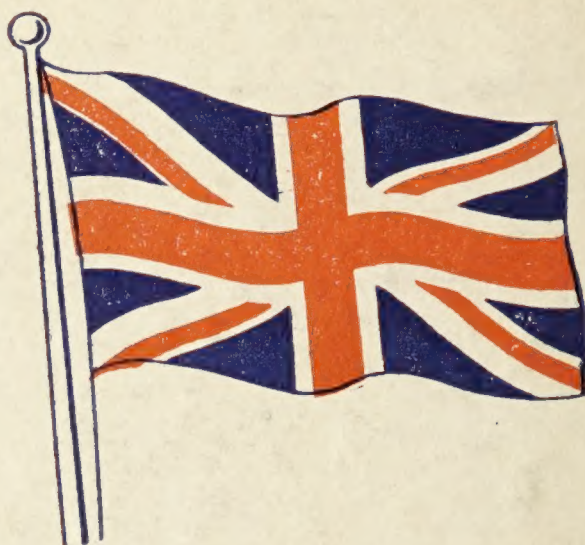
Under the recent test of the Great War the British Empire revealed to the world, in a truly marvellous way, its strength and its unity. Without the cohesion of this Empire there would be little hope of maintaining world peace. Britain has been for many years and still continues to be the bulwark of peace, and the chief reconciling influence in the councils of the nations.

CANADA

O Canada, in all thy glorious youth!
 Stretch out thy hands for ever to the Truth.
 Great are the gifts God has on thee bestowed,
 Great is thy heritage of British blood;
 Happy thy heart is, strong 'tis to endure,
 Joy be thy portion, now and evermore!
 Joy of the holy, rapture of the free,
 Make richest harmony from sea to sea.

Boundless thy prairies, let thy love be so,
 Bathed in the beauties of the heavenly glow.
 Peace rules thy borders, dwells within thy soul,
 Welding all nations to a mighty whole.
 Clear are thy waters, be thy vision clear;
 Mighty thy torrents, be thy power as fair.
 My heart is warm for thee, O Canada;
 Thou'rt sister unto me, O Canada,
 My prayer is aye for thee—
 God bless thee, Canada.

LILIAN HOVEY.



THE UNION JACK

Our Union Jack, on Empire Day,
Floats proudly in the breeze;
Not here alone, but far away
In lands across the seas.

Wherever British children dwell
Or British folk may be,
On Empire Day our flag shall tell
That we are Britons free.

It tells how boys of British breed
Have loved to play the game,
And scorned to do a shady deed
That would have brought them shame.

And British girls have found a place
Upon the Honour roll,
For nobler deeds of love and grace
To many a needy soul.

'Tis thus it speaks, our Union Jack,
Its message from the mast.
To follow in the nobler track
Of heroes in the past.